

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01 CU-02 IO-13 USIE-00 INRE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 /075 W
-----046784 222129Z /63

O R 221915Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1139
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4205

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: JUNE 22 MEETING

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM

FROM USDEL CSCE

SUMMARY: NETRALS AND NON-ALIGNED (NNA) TABLED THEIR
COMPROMISE DRAFT AGENDA FOR MAIN MEETING ON JUNE 22.
WE EXPECT THAT DISCUSSION WILL NOW FOCUS ON IT. INITIAL SOVIET
REACTION WAS COOL, BUT POLISH REP WAS MORE POSITIVE AND LEFT
DOOR OPEN TO COMPROMISE. NEUTRAL DRAFT IS FAR CLOSER TO US/
UK PROPOSAL THAN TO THAT OF SOVIETS BUT SEVERAL IMPORTANT
ISSUES REMAIN, AND ALLIES DO NOT WISH TO RUSH TOO PRECIPITOUS-
LY TO ACCEPT MAIN POINTS OF NNA DRAFT. END SUMMARY.

1. WE ARE TRANSMITTING FULL TEXT OF PROPOSAL BY NINE NEUTRAL
AND NON-ALIGNED STATES (AUSTRIA, CYPRUS, FINLAND,
LIECHTENSTEIN, MALTA, SAN MARINO, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, AND
YUGOSLAVIA) BY SEPTTEL. ITS MAIN POINTS ARE:

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(A) IT PUTS FIRST TWO WESTERN AGENDA ITEMS --EXCHANGE OF
VIEWS ON IMPLEMENTATION AND ON NEW PROPOSALS--TOGETHER
IN SINGLE ITEM IN DEFERENCE TO SOVIETS, WHILE MAINTAINING
DISTINCTION BY MAKING THEM INTO SUBHEADINGS SET OFF BY
TICKS.

(B) ITS SECOND AGEND ITEM ESSENTIALLY REPRODUCES WESTERN

PARA 3 ON MODALITIES FOR POST-BELGRADE MEETINGS BUT ADDS LANGUAGE WHICH IMPLIES RATHER STRONGLY THAT MAIN MEETING WILL DECIDE AT LEAST TO HOLD A FURTHER BELGRADE-STYLE MEETING.

(C) IT ADDS A NEW THIRD AGENDA ITEM PROVIDING FOR ADOPTION OF A FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE CONCLUSIONS AND DECISIONS, AND "SET DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT MEETING SIMILAR TO THE PRESENT ONE WITHIN THE FOLLOW-UP OF THE CSCE."

3. POLES PROVIDED INITIAL EASTERN BLOC REACTION BY EXPRESSING PREFERENCE FOR SOVIET AGENDA OVER THAT OF NEUTRALS WHICH THEY SAID WAS ONLY SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT FROM US/UK PROPOSAL. POLISH REP VOLUNTEERED, HOWEVER, ON "PRELIMINARY PERSONAL BASIS" THAT NEUTRAL DRAFT WOULD BE MORE ACCEPTABLE IF IT DROPPED TICKS IN FIRST PARAGRAPH (I.E., REUNITED REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS), OR, ALTERNATIVELY, IF IT USED ADDITIONAL TICKS TO BREAK NEW PROPOSALS SUBSECTION INTO THREE PARTS (DEEPENING OF MUTUAL RELATIONS; IMPROVEMENT OF SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION; AND DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE PROCESS.) IN MOVE AWAY FROM SOVIET DRAFT, POLISH REP SAID HE HAD POSITIVE REACTION TOWARD AGENDA ITEM ON POST-BELGRADE MEETINGS, PROVIDED FINAL ACT LANGUAGE WAS FOLLOWED EXACTLY. POLISH REP ALSO EXPRESSED CONFIDENTIAL

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INTEREST IN AGENDA ITEM ON FINAL DOCUMENT, PROVIDED IT DID NOT PREJUDICE DECISIONS TO BE TAKEN BY MAIN MEETING. HE SUGGESTED SUCH AN ITEM MIGHT BE WORDED SIMPLY AS "ADOPTION OF A DOCUMENT."

4. US EXPRESSED THANKS TO NEUTRALS FOR ATTEMPTING TO MOVE WORK AHEAD, PROMISED TO STUDY PROPOSAL CAREFULLY, WHILE NOTING THAT NEUTRALS' SYSTEM OF TICKS MAY NOT MAKE SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS. UK AND FRANCE ALSO WELCOMED NEUTRAL DRAFT AND PROMISED MORE DETAILED VIEWS AT LATER DATE. THEY SUGGESTED NEUTRALS SHOULD PROVIDE MORE CLARIFICATION ON HOW THEY SEE SYSTEM OF TICKS WORKING ON FIRST AGENDA ITEM AND THAT THOUGHT MIGHT BE GIVEN TO REWORKING PARTS OF PARAS 2 AND 3 WHICH APPEAR TO PREJUDGE DECISIONS ON FURTHER MEETINGS.

5. SPEAKING TOWARD CLOSE OF SESSION, SOVIET RE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT SOME DELS STILL DESIRED TO TAMPER WITH FINAL ACT. HE ARGUED THAT NEUTRAL DRAFT WAS TOO CLOSE TO WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR SEPARATE AGENDA ITEMS ON IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS, BUT HINTED THAT EQUAL

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1140
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSIONNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4205

IMPORTANCE OF FOUR UNDER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS
PARAGRAPH SHOULD BE MADE CLEARER, REFLECTING MORE
CAUTIOUSLY SAME IDEA AS ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENT FOR
AGENDA ITEM 1 WHICH HAD BEEN MENTIONED BY POLISH REP.

6. COMMENT: AS EXPECTED, NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED HAVE
COME OUT WITH PROPOSAL WHICH IS MUCH CLOSER TO OURS THAN
TO SOVIETS. OUR ONE PROBLEM IS WITH FIRST AGENDA ITEM
WHERE NEUTRAL PROPOSAL OF TWO TICKS TO DISTINGUISH BET-
WEEN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON IMPLEMENTATION AND ON NEW
PROPOSALS IS PROBABLY MINIMUM THAT WE CAN
ACCEPT, AND IS CERTAINLY LESS DESIREABLE THAN ENUMERATED
SUBHEADING. POLISH SUGGESTION, FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD MEAN
THAT REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BE ONLY ONE-QUARTER
OF FIRST OF THREE AGENDA ITEMS. WESTERN DELS ARE
RELUCTANT, THEREFORE, TO MOVE TOO QUICKLY TO ACCEPT
NEUTRAL DRAFT, LEST SOVIETS HANG BACK AND THEN SEEK TO
OBTAIN FURTHER COMPROMISE BETWEEN THEIR HARD-LINE PRO-
POSAL AND NEUTRAL COMPROMISE.

7. NEUTRALS HAVE NOW REOPENED NEGOTIATIONS. INITIAL
INDICATIONS ARE THAT THEY HAVE MOVED MEETING FORWARD
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BY BEGINNING TO DRAW SOVIETS AWAY FROM THEIR INITIAL
INSISTENCE THAT MEETINGS COULD ONLY REPRODUCE SLAVISHLY
AGENDA-RELATED LANGUAGE IN FINAL ACT. SOVIET AND
POLISH COMMENTS (AS WELL AS LATER BULGARIAN INTERVEN-
TION) SUGGESTED THAT SOVIETS NOW ACCEPT THAT QUESTION
OF POST-BELGRADE MEETINGS MUST BE A SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM
AND THAT MEETING WILL HAVE TO HAVE SOME SORT OF FINAL
DOCUMENT. KEY QUESTION FOR NEXT FEW DAYS IS WHETHER
NEUTRAL COMPROMISE BETWEEN US/UK AND SOVIET TREATMENT
OF REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS WILL BE
ACCEPTABLE TO ALL DELEGATIONS. END COMMENT.
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